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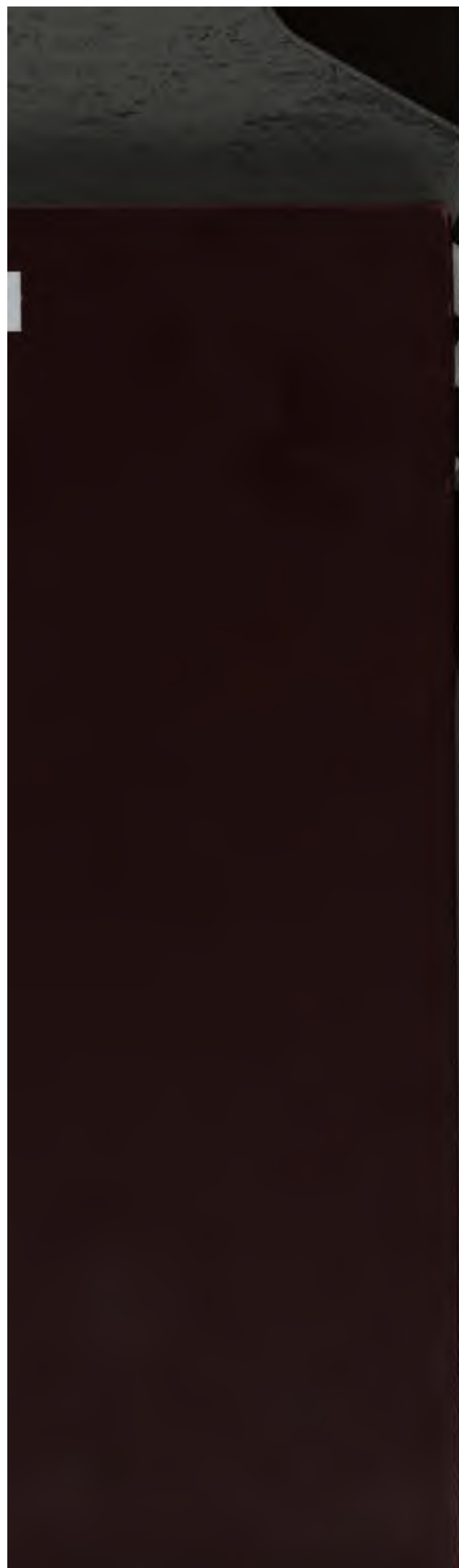
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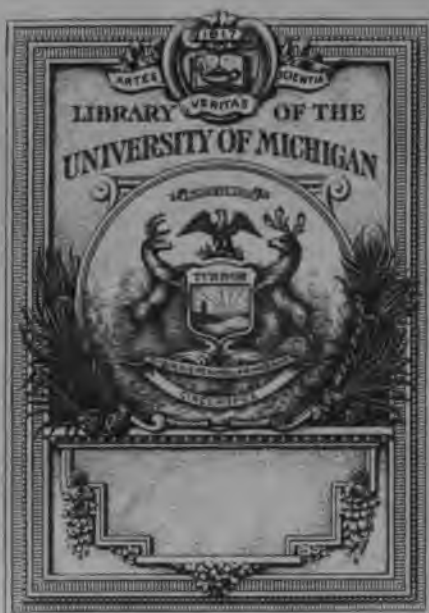
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THE UTTER EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY AN OBJECT
OF SCRIPTURE PROPHECY:

A
LECTURE

72799

THE SUBSTANCE OF WHICH WAS DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
CHELMSFORD

LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION,

IN THE FRIEND'S MEETING-HOUSE,

ON TUESDAY, THE 17TH OF APRIL, 1832:

WILLIAM KNIGHT, ESQ. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

With Elucidatory Notes.

BY

JOSEPH IVIMEY,

A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

DEDICATED TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.




"LIBERTY IS THE WORD WITH ME."—*Æsop.*

"ABOVE ALL LIBERTY."—*Selden.*

LONDON:

SOLD BY G. WIGHTMAN, PATERNOSTER ROW; MESSRS. HATCHARD,
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HARVEY, GRACECHURCH STREET; J. W. CALDER, OXFORD STREET;
AND AT THE BOOK ROOM, IN EXETER HALL.

1832.



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TO

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

SIR,

AFTER the uniform testimony of the world has been borne, for many years past, to your philanthropy toward those unhappy beings, who are, in common parlance, designated slaves; in consequence of your having procured the abolition of the "*TRADE in the persons of men*," which had, for nearly three centuries, been the foul disgrace of the British nation; it cannot be deemed flattery, that I have presumed to dedicate this Lecture to you: and which I do with feelings of the most profound respect and veneration. To you, Sir, belong the highest honour, and the most refined and exalted pleasure, which ever any man appropriated to himself:—" *And when the ear heard me,*" said the God-fearing, most upright, and deeply-afflicted Job, "*then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me. Because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to*

*perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me; my judgment was as a robe and a diadem. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame; I was a father to the poor; and the cause which I knew not, I searched out; and I brake the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth."** Nor can I imagine, after the proofs which I have experienced of your friendship, that the freedom which I have taken, will be deemed an offensive liberty, with your much-loved *name*, especially when pronounced in connection with the *abolition of Slavery*.†

Notwithstanding so much has been said and published on the subject of Slavery, I have never known any observations to have been advanced, relating to its being clearly pointed out in the scriptures, as one of those evils which inspired predictions have devoted to utter extinction. This is one reason why I have considered it desirable to publish my thoughts, on the certainty of that event taking place; and to state my opinion of the probability, from existing circumstances, that its entire abolition is not far distant.

* Job. xxix. 12—17.

† See a most eloquent eulogy pronounced on Mr. Wilberforce, by the late lamented patriot, Sir Samuel Romilly, in the Appendix, No. 1.

Another reason is, a hope that the discussion of the subject at this most eventful period, will arrest the attention of, at least, the pious part of the community, and lead them to consider how necessary it is, in order to the prosperity and salvation of the nation, that this most crying sin should be repented of, and put away, that we may be “*a saved, and not a destroyed people.*”

The NATION has been lately fasting, and humbling itself before God, because of the divine visitation, by a most destructive disease. It appears, at present, that the merciful Jehovah, who spared Ahab, and the kingdom of Israel, when “he humbled himself”; and who spared Nineveh, when “the king proclaimed a fast,” and its inhabitants devoutly observed it; that HE is turning away his chastising rod, by checking the awful pestilence, and saying to the destroying angel—“*It is enough*” Ought we not, then, to prove the sincerity of our repentance, by resolving that Slavery shall be immediately abolished in the British colonies? Let all classes of the PEOPLE shew the genuineness of their professed repentance, by petitioning against Slavery; and let our enlightened LEGISLATURE, our reforming MINISTERS, and our beloved, patriotic and paternal MONARCH, prove their’s, by *firing a specific period, beyond*

which SLAVERY in the British colonies shall not exist.

For the purpose of elucidating the manner in which the “*trade in the persons of men*” is at the present time, carried on by British proprietors, I give the copy of an *advertisement*, from the “*Royal Gazette, Nassau*,” dated April 23, 1831, which affords us a specimen of the assortment of a West Indian auction! “*On Monday next, the 25th instant, at the Vendue-house, at ten o’clock, will be sold,—sugar, pork, and long leaf tobacco, candles, soap, &c. and a NEGRO WOMAN, a plain cook and house servant, with ONE CHILD! Terms—Cash at two months credit!*”

Is it possible to conceive of any transaction more abhorrent to our principles and feelings as *men*, as *Britons*, and especially as *Christians*, than a WEST INDIAN AUCTION!! How delightful the thought, then, that the time is drawing nigh, when the voice of the British Senate will, it is hoped, prevent other events from proclaiming to the world, in regard to those who have traded in “*SLAVES, and souls of men*,” that, “*no man buyeth their MERCHANDIZE any more.*”

The crisis at which we have arrived is truly awful, and the signs of the times are tremendously alarming; yet to the friends of humanity and religion most cheering and animating:

the negroes in a state of dreadful discontent and disappointment; the slave-holders, the planters, and the colonial legislatures, in a state of rebellion against the government; His Majesty's ministers, doubtless most desirous, and yet afraid to adopt decisive measures to put an end to the existence of slavery; the nation roused to petition on behalf of their outraged and oppressed fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects, that their miseries may be speedily terminated; the House of Commons about to be agitated by the motion of Mr. Buxton, on the 24th instant, that immediate emancipation might be granted. O that our NOAHS, our DANIELS, and our JOBS, men mighty in prayer; and some MOSES, fervent in supplication, might be found stretching out his hands toward heaven, with some AARON and HUR to stay his sinking arms; may unite in earnest supplication, that whilst the army of Israel is struggling with Amalek in the plain, the God of heaven, who has always heard "the cry of the humble," and hath "never said to the seed of Jacob, *Seek ye my face in vain!*" might now arise out of his place, and give them a decided victory—a glorious triumph! *Then* we will erect an altar, and inscribe upon it, "JEHOVAH-*nissi*: the Lord is our banner;"—"His right hand, and his holy arm hath gotten him the vic-

tory." " *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name we give the glory, for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake.*"

That you, Sir, may at the close of your most useful life, and in your retirement from the bustle of worldly business, enjoy all the rich consolations of the gospel of Christ, the influence of which you have, for so long a period, experimentally known and practically demonstrated, by your sympathetic and benevolent exertions to ameliorate and terminate the sufferings of the enslaved African ;—and that you may be spared "a little longer, that you may recover your strength, before you go hence and be no more seen"; and thus be able to join in, and enjoy the complete triumph of your labours, in witnessing the emancipation of all the sons and daughters of Africa, in all the colonies of BRITAIN, and of EUROPE, and of AMERICA! and of the WORLD, is the devout prayer, and ardent wish of,

Sir,

Your obliged friend,
and obedient Servant,

JOSEPH IVIMEY.

51, Devonshire Street, Queen Square.

May 7, 1832.

A LECTURE,

&c. &c.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

BEING a member, Sir, of the Committee of "the Anti-slavery Society," I have, at the request of "the Agency Committee," of which I am also a member, visited CHELMSFORD, for the purpose of delivering a Lecture on the evils of COLONIAL SLAVERY: Desirous of promoting, in every way within my power, the objects of that philanthropic and useful Society, I have obeyed their call.

I feel that I shall find a difficulty in speaking, because I entertain such deep feelings of compassion and commiseration for those distressed creatures, the negroes, as will prevent me from giving full utterance to the dictates of my heart. It is not a matter of speculation respecting which I speak: there are a thousand subjects to which I might refer, which would not much interest the feelings; but while I am now speaking, I know that my fellow-creatures in the British colonies are perishing.

In this engagement, I consider myself as acting in accordance with an inspired command: “*Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed for destruction. Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy.*” * The enslaved negroes cannot speak for themselves: I speak in their stead, and on their behalf; and who, that “judgeth righteously,” but will admit that they are “poor and needy,” and “appointed for destruction”;—not because either they, or their fathers, brought on themselves this destitution, by their indolence, or their extravagance; or by their intemperate habits; but they thus suffer, on account of their masters having unrighteously oppressed them; and because the British Government has failed in putting forth its might, to protect and deliver them! Was it not the admitted duty of the government of a *free* people to have done this, at the time when the criminality of the practice was fully acknowledged, by the abolition of the Slave Trade? And is it not the duty of our *present* government, instantly to abolish it? If all the measures of *amelioration*, (and for which the friends of the slaves should be thankful) lately sent out, in the “Orders of Council,” to the Governors of the *Crown Colonies* in the West Indies, were to be carried into full effect, which it is not rational to expect will be the case, since those to whom the execution of them is committed, are too deeply involved, to

* Prov. xxxi. 8, 9.

admit of equal justice towards the negroes, whom they consider as their property! the inherent evils of *Slavery* will still exist; nor can the miseries entailed on the negro population be prevented, but by the *extinction* of the *system itself*: and this the British Legislature alone can effectually accomplish! Was it not an act of wisdom, as regarded its own interests, in the LION, though the lord of the forest, not to stain its noble character, but to withdraw its heavy paw from the oppressed, complaining, and insignificant MOUSE? * And may not the period arrive, when even the BRITISH LION may need, for the safety of the nation, or, at least, for the safety of its *colonies*, the friendship and help of its most despised subjects: the now enslaved, and persecuted negroes? who will doubtless repay, by their gratitude, such an act of mercy. TRUE POLICY, as well as STRICT JUSTICE, demand, that the injunction of God to Israel should be observed by our rulers, “*to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke.*” † Humanity also pleads, that this divine injunction be immediately regarded, as much for the *safety of the white inhabitants*, as for the effectual amelioration of the condition of the negroes themselves.

The subject of Slavery, or of man being claimed as property by his fellow-man, has been

* *Æsop's Fables*, No. 31.

† *Isaiah* lviii. 6.

discussed under a variety of considerations, and its injustice and cruelty most properly exposed, by many of our distinguished countrymen; but by none, in more expressive and suitable language, than our immortal poet, Milton. His heart, which always beat high on the subject of *Liberty*, was full of indignation against *Slavery*, when he penned the following graphic lines:—

“ O, execrable son! so to aspire
Above his brethren, he himself assuming
Authority usurped from God, not given:
He gave us only over beast, flesh, fowl,
Dominion absolute; that right we hold
By his donation; but man over men
He made not lord; such title to himself
Reserving, human left from human free.”

The view which I am about to give of this frightful subject, has never yet, so far as I am aware, been taken. It is, however, the only view of it which can afford us any pleasure, and that is, “THE UTTER EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY AN OBJECT OF SCRIPTURE PROPHECY.” The prophecy which I refer to, will be found in the book of the Revelation, the 18th chapter, the 11th and 13th verses:—“AND THE MERCHANTS OF THE EARTH SHALL WEEP AND MOURN,..FOR NO MAN BUYETH THEIR MERCHANDIZE ANY MORE:..THE MERCHANTIZE OF..BEASTS, AND SHEEP, AND HORSES, AND SLAVES, AND SOULS OF MEN.”

I shall divide the Lecture into two parts: the first, As to the origin of Colonial Slavery, and the

present condition of those wretched beings, who are called slaves, in the West India Islands: the second, As to the certainty of the utter extinction of this horrid system, and the probable means by which that event will be effected.

I. I commence the discussion, as to *the origin of Colonial Slavery*, by adopting the language of an apologist for it: BRYAN EDWARDS, in his "History of the West Indies," published in 1793, calls his work, in so far as it has reference to Slavery, "The contemplation of human nature, in its most debased and abject state; the sad prospect of 450,000 reasonable beings, in a state of barbarity and slavery: of whom," he adds, "I will not say the major part, but great numbers assuredly, have been torn from their native country, and dearest connections, by means which no good mind can reflect upon, but with sentiments of disgust, commiseration, and horror." *

As I shall confine myself to our own colonies, and to the guilt which Britain has contracted, in this infamous merchandize, I give the history of its commencement, in the words of the same historian, because it is proper that the names of our wretched countrymen, who were its first perpetrators, should be branded with all the public opprobrium to which they are entitled, and whom, had they been judged according to divine law, Exodus xxi. 16, it would have prevented the

* Edwards's History of the West Indies, vol. ii. 34.

flowing of oceans of human blood, "*He that steal-eth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.*"

Edwards says, "Of the English, the first who is known to have been concerned in this commerce, was the celebrated John Hawkins, who was afterwards knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and made treasurer of the navy. Having made several voyages to the Canary Islands, and there received information, (says Hackluyt, a contemporary historian), that negroes were very good merchandize in *Hispaniola*, and that store of negroes might be easily had on the coast of Guiney, he resolved to make trial thereof, and communicated that device, with his worshipful friends of London, Sir LIONEL DUCKET, Sir THOMAS LODGE, Master GUNSON, his father-in-law, Sir WILLIAM WINTER, Master BLOOMFIELD, and others: all which persons liked so well his intention, that they became liberal contributors and adventurers in the action; for which purpose there were three good ships provided: the Salomon, of 120 tunnes, wherein Master Hawkins himself went, as general; the Swallow, of 100 tunnes; and the Jonas, a bark of 20 tunnes; in which small fleet, Master Hawkins took with him a hundred men."

"Hawkins sailed from England for Sierra Leone, in the month of October, 1562, and," says Hackluyt, "in a short time after his arrival upon the coast, got into his possession, by the sword, and partly by other means, three hundred ne-

groes." In his second voyage, he landed at a small island, called *Alcatrasa*, with eighty men, supplied with arms and ammunition for effecting their demoniacal purpose; but as the natives fled, on their approach, into the woods, they were disappointed of their intended prey. "But," says Edwards, "a short time after, we find this *righteous* commander at one of the islands which are called *Sambula*. 'In this island,' writes one who sailed with him, 'we staid certain days, going every day on shore to take the inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their towns.' In regard to Hawkins himself," adds Edwards, "I admit he was a robber. His avowed purpose in sailing to Guiney, was to sieze by stratagem, or force, and carry away the unsuspecting natives, in the view of selling them as slaves to the people of *Hispaniola*. In this pursuit, his object was present profit, and his employment and pastime, desolation and murder."

Lest it should appear, from the circumstance of the queen having afterwards knighted this infamous wretch, that she approved of his practices, it is proper to remark, that, according to HILL, the naval historian, she was deceived by Hawkins, thinking that the poor Africans were taken from their homes with their own consent, for the purpose of being employed, not as *slaves*, but as *free labourers* in the Spanish colonies. Hill says, the queen "expressed her concern lest any of the Africans should be carried off without their *free*

consent, in which case she declared it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertakers."

In the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II., we find that British settlements were formed in the West Indies, and that, at home, joint-stock companies were chartered, to supply them with slaves. In 1662, a charter was obtained from Charles II. for the "Royal African Company," in which many persons of high rank and distinction were incorporated, and at its head was the king's brother, the Duke of York, afterwards James II. This company undertook to supply the West India colonies with three hundred negroes annually. (A.)

According to this engagement, supposing it to have been fulfilled, more than 10,000 human beings must, before the end of this century, have been seized, and carried off from their native country; besides those who must have perished in the wars raised, or encouraged, in order to their being procured; and those also who must have died in their passage from Africa to the West Indies.

It appears that this abominable traffic was carried on with the characteristic energy of British merchants, in the next century: Edwards says, "I state it on sufficient evidence, having in my possession all the entries, that the number imported into Jamaica alone, from 1700 to 1786, was 610,000! and the total import into all the British colonies, for the same period, may be put at

2,130,000! In one year, 1771, there sailed from England to the coast of Africa, 192 ships, provided for carrying 47,146 negroes! In the year 1789, there were in Jamaica," he says, "250,000 negroes, which, reckoned at £50. sterling each, were worth twelve millions and a half of money; and that these were employed in cultivating seven hundred and ten sugar plantations"! Add to this number, the thousands imported during the next twenty years before the period when the celebrated bill was passed, (B.) for the abolition of this trade in "SLAVES, and *souls of men*;" and to these may be added, all the children who have been born of these wretched persons, during the twenty-six years which have since elapsed; and who can calculate, or even guess, the total amount—the aggregate number of human beings, who have been thus subjugated by British cupidity and injustice, to endure such enormous and multiplied wrongs. Ought we not, as a nation, to adopt the impassioned language of Jeremiah, "when the prophet wept for Israel, and wished his eyes had infinite supplies," and say, in regard to our guilty native country:—"O, *that mine head were waters, and mine eyes fountains of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people.*" It is impossible to feel sufficiently humble, for the guilt which our nation has contracted with regard to the crime of Colonial Slavery.

I proceed to give some account of *the present state of Slavery in the British Colonies*. And, let it be remembered, that instead of there being 250,000 negroes in Jamaica, as in 1789, there were, a short time since, 331,000,—a frightful increase in thirty-three years of 81,000. And in all our colonies, at the present time, there are 755,301 of our fellow men wearing the galling chains. This statement is according to the latest returns of the numbers in sixteen colonies, there having been a decrease in the sugar colonies, on an average of eleven years, of 55,205. (C.) O, who can calculate what privations, what sighs, what miseries must have been endured, to produce such a diminution of human life in so short a time! These are called by their hard-hearted masters, their slaves, and their “legal property,” (D) but I call them British *subjects*, and charge those, who hold them in bondage, with tyranny and oppression, in depriving them of the *right* which they have to their own bodies; of the *right* which they have to the protection of law for their persons and property, and to which they are entitled. It was a glorious decision of British judges, in Westminster Hall, in May, 1772, that “as soon as a slave sets his foot on English soil he becomes free.” And, I doubt not, but the animating sentiment, “A slave cannot breathe in England,” will, within a short period, be applied to all the subjects of the British crown! and it will be said, with increased delight, “A slave cannot breathe in the *British Colonies*!” so

that, perhaps, I may yet live long enough to witness, that wherever the *power* of Britain is felt, there her *mercy* will be also enjoyed.

It may, I know be said, in opposition to this statement, that human enactments have been made in support of holding men in bondage. Yes, I admit that the colonial legislatures in the West Indies have done so,—though I deny that the British Parliament have ever passed any law to make slavery constitutional: and, if it had, I should still contend, no human laws can make that to be lawful and right which is in itself essentially wrong; as every thing must necessarily be, which is in its nature opposed to the revealed will of God. Would a legislative act, for instance, declaring murder to be no crime, supersede the divine command, “Thou shalt do no murder,”—or lawfully exempt a murderer from the penalty attached to the crime, “*Whoso sheddeth man’s blood by man shall his blood be shed.*” Gen. ix. 6.

I insist, then, that a *man* cannot be justly deprived of his natural rights, which, according to Paley,* are, “a right to his life, limbs, and liberty; his right to the produce of his own personal labour, and to the use, in common with others, of air, light, and water. If a thousand persons,” says that enlightened writer, “from a thousand different parts of the world, were to be cast together upon a desert island, they would from the

* Moral Philosophy.

first be every one entitled to those rights." And our great constitutional lawyer, Blackstone,* remarks, "The absolute rights of man, considered as a free agent, endowed with discernment to know good from evil, and with power of choosing those measures which appear to him most desirable, are usually summed up in one general appellation, and denominated the *natural liberty of mankind*. This natural liberty consists, properly, in a power of acting as one thinks fit, without any constraint or control, unless by the law of nature, being a right inherent in us by birth, and one of the gifts of God to man at his creation, when he endued him with the faculty of free-will. But every man, when he enters into society, gives up a part of his natural liberty, as the price of so valuable a purchase; and in consideration of receiving the advantages of mutual commerce, obliges himself to conform to those laws which the community has thought proper to establish. Those rights which God and nature have established, and are, therefore, called *natural* rights,—such as life and liberty,—need not the aid of human laws to be more effectually invested in every man than they are; neither do they receive any additional strength when declared by the municipal laws to be inviolable. On the contrary, no human legislature has power to abridge or destroy them, unless the owner himself shall commit some act which shall amount to a forfei-

† Commentaries.

ture. The first and primary end of all human laws, is, to maintain and regulate these *absolute* rights to all individuals." (E.)

It seems necessary that we should lay down such principles as are incontrovertible, when we plead that every man has a natural right to freedom, but surely I need not stop to shew that Slavery violates all these *natural rights* : for no one will undertake to prove, that the colonial population have voluntarily consented to be deprived of the exercise of these rights, or that they have committed any crime which amounts to a forfeiture of them. Besides, the greater part of them were born in this degraded condition, and were, therefore, *prospectively* deprived of rights which they never could have forfeited ; this, too, applies to all their unborn children, so long as the parents are held in their present state of bondage. O, the cruel system of Colonial Slavery ! Can it be justified on the principle that the negro has a skin of a different complexion to that of his tyrant lord ? Surely this is no crime ! Is it on this account, ye *white* tyrants, (for so I should call them, if I were in the presence of these oppressors of their fellow-men) that the produce of his labour is not his own ; that the property in his own body is not his own ; that his wife and children do not belong to him but to his tyrant oppressor ? O, the heartless wretch, who treats his fellow-man as he would his horse, or his dog, or with greater brutality ! If he be "a *man* and

a *brother*," then every one of the 75,000 negroes in our colonies has a just right to his liberty, to his limbs, to the produce of his own labour, and to all the immunities of a British subject, of "a *man* and a *brother*!" I rejoice that the *trade* in *man*, as mere goods and chattels, has been, by British justice suppressed, so that no British ship can be employed in this infamous traffic, even in AFRICA; and that to purchase a man is *felony*. And I ardently hope, the time is not far distant, when a similar law will be passed, with regard to the British colonies; that persons will no longer be able to buy and sell their fellow-men, as they now do by thousands. It is affecting to think, after all the benevolent labours of Clarkson and Wilberforce, and other great friends of humanity, for the abolition of the Slave Trade, that it should still be carried on, to as great, and perhaps to a greater, extent than ever—not by the British, but by the French, the Portuguese, and the Spaniards. It makes one's heart ache, to know that such miseries are perpetrated, and that in spite of all our exertions, and of the tears, the agonies, and the groans of the suffering thousands of our fellow-mortals, who are every year kidnapped, and sold into perpetual slavery.

I was going to apologize for being so warm, but it is a subject, respecting which, if we do not feel, and strongly feel, we ought never to appear as the advocates of the Anti Slavery Cause. I think I shall never feel ashamed, when a person

says to me, "You are very warm"; but I should be ashamed, if I were not so, when I talk about my fellow-creatures being murdered by their heartless tyrants. I have made use of some hard words, but I recollect a passage in Bishop Burnett's "History of his own Times," respecting a person who had spoken very strongly against popery; and when called to account for so doing, he replied, "I will tell you why I used those words—it was because I could find no stronger to use." And the reason why I make use of the word *tyrant* is, because I know not of a more expressive word for the idea, or I would use it. Our excellent poet, Cowper, whose heart burned with honest indignation against the horrors of the slave trade, when speaking of the Bastille at Paris, says, (and I shall apply it to the slave-holder)—

"The sighs and groans of miserable men,
Are music such as suits your sov'reign ears:
There's not an English heart that would not leap
To hear that ye were fallen at last!"

But I take still another step, and charge *slavery* with being at direct variance with THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION. By the *constitution* I mean those statutes which secure to every subject of the empire the enjoyment of his natural rights, in so far as is consistent with the welfare of the whole community. We speak with rapture of the *rights* of the people of England, because in most other countries formerly, with the exception of America, and now of France, the

liberties of the people are either debased or destroyed. "And these *rights*" says Blackstone, "may be reduced to three primary articles, the *right of personal security*; the *right of personal liberty*; and the *right of private property*." Was it not for the purpose of securing to us these *rights* that our noble ancestors struggled for, and obtained "Magna Charta," in Runnymede? Was it not to secure us these *rights*, that our yet more noble ancestors obtained the "Act of Settlement," and the "Bill of Rights," at the glorious Revolution in 1688? Thus guaranteeing to us and our posterity, our civil and religious liberties! But of what use to our miserable brethren and fellow subjects in the Colonies are these enactments? What do the legislators in the chartered Colonies care about the freedom secured by Magna Charta? Does not Slavery set all its regulations at defiance? Were not a great proportion of the negro population born subjects of the British monarch? Are not thousands of them the descendants of British fathers? And yet these sons and daughters of British freemen are suffered to endure the most grievous wrongs, deprived of all their inalienable rights, and that too in the name of the British nation, and by the sanction and connivance of the British government! But will it be said, that the West India legislatures have described the slave, and prescribed regulations for him, as one who has no *natural*, no *constitutional rights*? that he is not to

have "freedom, even by sufferance, and at will of a superior!" But from what part or parcel of the laws of the parent state did these colonial *senators*! derive power to make such oppressive enactments? It has been asked,* and I repeat the question, "Was it not an express condition in all the charters which empowered the colonies to make laws for themselves, that the laws and statutes to be made under them are not to be *repugnant* to, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws and statutes of this our kingdom of Great Britain."† But who will undertake to shew that the colonial laws respecting Slavery, are "as near as may be agreeable to the laws and statutes of England?" Light and darkness are not more dissimilar; the iron *bondage* of the Israelites in Egypt, and their *freedom* under Joshua in Canaan were not more unlike each other! Is it not almost beyond credibility, that such enormous wrongs could have been inflicted by *subjects* of the British Crown? Is it not most surprising, that the power of endurance has been for so many ages manifested by those whom Colonial tyrants have branded with the name of Slave? I said *endurance*: I fear it is the grovelling spirit which vassalage is suited to produce: thus Cowper says:—

"Who lives, and is not weary of a life,
Exposed to manacles, deserves them well."

* Godwin's Lectures on Slavery, page 103.

† Charter granted by Charles II. to Jamaica.

What Briton is there whose heart does not respond to the sentiments of this high-minded Christian poet:—

“ I could endure
Chains no where patiently; and chains at home,
Where I am free by birth-right, not at all.”

The chains worn by the negroes in colonies which belong to the British Crown, must be peculiarly galling! unless, indeed, they are reduced, by their oppression, below the nature and dignity of men!

But may it not also be demonstrated, that the state of slavery in which our fellow-men and fellow-subjects are held in the Colonies of the British Empire is in direct opposition *to the revealed will of God in his sacred word*? Was it not a positive enactment of the Mosaic code of laws and which, because of its moral nature, has never been abrogated, and therefore is still binding upon all the creatures of God: “ *He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.*” Impious attempt to place the African negro beyond the pale of divine law! How shocking, that so many of our countrymen should, on the coast of Africa, have been “ *men stealers*,” and that so many of them should act the part of those who are the purchasers of stolen property; but, as by human laws, “The receiver is as bad as the thief,” so the laws of heaven regards the kidnapping villain

who stole his brother man, and the mammon-worshipping devotee who holds him in bondage, in the same point of light ; both being the transgressors of His laws, and amenable to His righteous justice !

Infamous men, who having superciliously decided, without the shadow of reason, that the negro, because of his sable hue, is inferior in the scale of being to yourselves, have therefore proceeded to manacle and scourge him, and to exact his extremest labour without pay, or just remuneration for his toils and sufferings ? Did you never read, “ *Have we not all one Father ? Hath not one God created us ?* ” Did you never consider, that “ *God hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth ?* ” Do you not know that Jehovah has said, in reference to his creatures, whether white or black, “ *All souls are mine !* ”

Nor are the spirit and declarations of the gospel of Christ less explicit, in condemning the practice of men holding property in the persons of men ! Did not our Saviour say, “ *Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; for this is the law and the prophets.* ” * Was such a thing ever known, as a planter being willing to exchange conditions with his slave ? Or would any slave-holder like to be treated exactly in the same way, and be subject to the inconveniences of a slave : even though found in the circumstances of *Phædrus* ? of whom it is

* Matthew vii. 12.

said, he “had the good fortune to have the mildest prince that ever was, for his master.” No, they know too well what it is to be a slave; though they say it is a state of Paradise, they would never choose it for themselves.

And does not the Saviour’s representation, in the parable of the good Samaritan, of the compassion due to a wretched fellow-creature, under the character of a “neighbour,” because belonging to the human family, condemn the unfeeling brutality of those, who not only witness without sympathy, their miserable slaves; but inflict those wounds, and cause that destitution, which almost break the hearts of others! One should think that every slave-holder would instantly descry his own features in the characters of the priest and levite, and feel the blush of confusion when he hears the Saviour, in commendation of the benevolent Samaritan, say, “*Go thou, and do likewise!*”

But, it is like attempting to prove that the sun shines, when “*he is going forth in his might,*” as fully to shew how alien *slavery* is to *Christianity*, or to attempt to set forth the glaring inconsistency of those, who, while holding property in the nerves and sinews of their fellow-creatures, yet call themselves after the sacred name of Christ! To all such I would earnestly say, “Either give up the profession of *Christianity*, or resolve instantly to emancipate your *slaves*. Because these are totally incompatible with each other, and never

set well upon the same person. “A *christian* slave-holder is a non-descript.”

Having proved the *right* of the negroes in the Colonies to the *protection* and *privileges* of British law, I shall now produce some *facts* to show how these *rights* have been outraged by the cruel punishments inflicted upon some of them, by the *stocks*, the *whip*, the *cat*, the *thumb-screw*, the *chains*, and the *carcan*, from that invaluable work the Anti Slavery Reporter.* The first is an extract from the Christian Record, published in Jamaica, No. 3. “A female, apparently about twenty-two, was then laid down, with her face downwards; her wrists were secured by cords run into nooses; her ankles were brought together, and placed in another noose; the cord composing this last one passed through a block connected with a post. The cord was tightened, and the young woman was thus stretched to her utmost length. The boatswain of the workhouse, a tall athletic man, flourished his whip four or five times round his head, and proceeded with the punishment. The instrument of punishment was a *cat*, formed of knotted cords. The blood sprang from the wounds it inflicted. The poor creature shrieked in agony, and exclaimed, “I don’t deserve this!” She became hysterical, and continued so until the punishment was completed. Four other delinquents were subsequently treated in the same

* Vol. iv. 132—135.

way. One was a woman thirty-six years of age; another a girl of fifteen; another a boy of the same age; and, lastly, an old woman of sixty, who really appeared scarcely to have strength to express her agonies by cries. The boy of fifteen, as our informant subsequently ascertained, was a son of the woman of thirty-six! Painful and melancholy as is the above detail, we know it to be but too faithful a picture of what is transacted from week to week, by order of the magistrates, within those abodes of human misery and degradation, the *workhouses* of our island."

"Look again at the case of Mr. Martin, the overseer in the Temple Hall, at St. Andrews, which has recently undergone investigation, and is reported in the [Jamaica] Courant, of the 27th of October, 1831. It was proved that the girl Jane had been most severely flogged by him, and confined in the *stocks*, although the number given was less than thirty-nine. Setting aside the cause which the girl alleged for this punishment, which was shocking enough, and taking the statement which Mr. Martin gave as to the offence she had committed, we find that it amounted to nothing more than a saucy answer given him."

The next case relates to a negro man, who, though called a slave, is a respectable mechanic, and a deacon of the Baptist church at Savannah-le-Mar, in Jamaica, named *Samuel Swiney*. The crime with which he was charged was, his having, with his master's permission, engaged in evening

prayer at the house of his pastor, the Rev. Wm. Knibb, who was absent from home. For this crime, no other charge having been alleged, he was sentenced by the magistrate, (the Hon. David Finlayson, who was, at that time, *Speaker of the Jamaica House of Assembly*!) to be flogged in the workhouse, with the *cart whip*, and then worked in *chains* on the public roads, for a fortnight; daily passing his own house, in the sight of the workmen employed by him. I will give the statement of this affair in the language of Mr. Knibb. “Early on the following morning I went to see the disgusting scene that was then enacted. What my feelings were I cannot now express, for I beheld a fellow-creature, a respectable tradesman of his class, stretched indecently on the earth, and lacerated with the cart whip, and immediately after chained to a convict, and sent to work on the road, to gratify the prejudices of those who hold that preaching and praying are the same, and equally infractions of the law of Jamaica. Whether justice has been done in this case,” says Mr. Knibb, “I leave others to determine. For my own part, I must consider that if the law sanctions such a conclusion, that law is an abomination and a disgrace to a Christian country.” From this circumstance, might, probably, be seen what was the cause of Mr. Knibb, and the Baptist Missionaries, being so much disliked by the Jamaica magistrates: they had not been courteous enough, to bow down before these tyrants—those

Hamans "in the gate": they had been uncompromising in regard to slavery! I am happy to relieve this tale of injustice and persecution, by saying, that some benevolent persons at home, in consequence of hearing of the unjust punishment of this respectable person, soon after purchased his freedom, his master making an abatement in the price, from the respect which he bore to the person and character of this OUTRAGED Christian man.

The next horrible statement, relates to the colony of the Mauritius, Isle of France, and is from the Protector of Slaves' Report, No. 91, p. 175. "On the 18th of December, 1829, *Francois*, belonging to M. Marchal, presented himself at the Protector's Office, at three in the morning, with his hands fastened together behind him by means of *thumb-screws*, fixed so tight as to have penetrated the flesh quite to the bone, and caused considerable swelling and inflammation of the hands and arms. He also stated that another slave, named *Luff*, had been punished precisely in the same way by his master, and was now confined in M. Marchal's premises. A surgeon being sent for, the *thumb-screws* upon *Francois* were filed off."

The following is from an abridged account of this case, by Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary:—"About twenty-four days ago, *Francois* neglected his work, and absented himself for a whole day. The next day he was arrested, and

carried to the police, whence his master caused him to be conveyed home, and immediately fixed *thumb-screws* on his thumbs, and placed both his feet in the *stocks*. At night he was taken out of the stocks, and with the thumb-screws still on, placed in a machine, called a *CARCAN*, which consists of two pillars, with a cross plank affixed at a man's height from the ground, to which he was attached by means of an iron collar, three inches broad, fastened to the plank with staples and padlocks, where he remained standing all night, and in the morning was released, and placed again in the stocks for the day. He was thus treated alternately night and day for a fortnight, when M. Marchal sent him to his plantation at Petite Riviere, with the thumb-screws on, to be flogged; but being unable to use his hands, he was sometimes fed by one of his comrades. *Luff* was treated in the same manner. The thumb-screws were screwed so tight as to cut the flesh almost to the bone, and cause great pain. About four days ago, Francois announced himself to be ill, and he was taken out of the stocks and placed in the hospital, whence last evening he had escaped, leaving *Luff* with his thumb-screws on. M. Marchal himself put the thumb-screws on them, and conducted them night and morning from the *carcan* to the *stocks*."* Could any thing be more horrible than this? And yet these persons, called slaves, are the *subjects* of Great Britain!

* Anti-slavery Reporter, vol. iv. 401.

When I contemplate these horrid, and, excepting in some of the British colonies, unequalled acts of cruelty, committed in the “ Isle of France,” I am shocked to find such a similarity of character between the *Britons* in *Jamaica*, and the *French* in the *Mauritius*. What a brutalizing system is slavery, to transform the noble-minded Briton, and the polite and effeminate Frenchman, into tygers and leopards! beasts which can never be satiated with human blood, and appear to enjoy that draught the most, which is extracted from the heart, and causes the most exquisite torture to their miserable victims. May I not, with propriety, adopt, in reference to such heartless cruelty as the above cases present, the language of dying Jacob, respecting the brutal conduct of two of his sons: “*SIMEON and LEVI are brethren: instruments of cruelty are in their habitations. O, my soul, come thou not into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united: for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel.*” *

The warm-hearted and devoted missionary, Mr. Knibb, felt and expressed himself strongly, in the following extract, on account of the cruelties practised upon the negroes generally, and especially when perpetrated on the members of the church under his care. This it would be in vain to deny. But who that possesses the sensibilities of a *man*,

* Genesis xlix. 5—7.

and the sympathies of a *christian*, could see a fellow-creature so "shamefully entreated," and so barbarously mangled with "instruments of cruelty," and yet have restrained himself from speaking? A person of *inordinate selfishness*, might have looked on without emotion; and have been congratulated by others, with having manifested the *prudence of wisdom*: so both the *priest* and *levite* were doubtless *prudent men*, "wise in their generation"; but they felt neither pity for the robbed and wounded man, nor any feelings of anger against his murderous enemies. The *Samaritan*, forgot himself, and his own interests, in his all-absorbing concern to ameliorate the condition of his neighbour, and to emancipate him from his perishing condition. Calmness, on such a subject, is brutal insensibility; caution, a participation in the crime; and a fear of self-injury, pusillanimity and cowardice. If impetuosity of feeling has sometimes produced rash expressions, insensibility and unconcern about every thing which is not immediately connected with self-interest, would not only leave human misery unrelieved, but would lead persons to employ all the little energy they possess, in preventing or censuring those who say, "I refuse not to die," if thereby I may save the lives of others.

Having made these prefatory remarks, I introduce an extract from a letter, written by the Rev. Wm. Knibb, dated Falmouth, November 7, 1831. After having adverted to certain slanderous im-

putations cast on the negroes and their ministers, which had long been current in Jamaica, and circulated privately in Scotland, he says—"Amidst all this reproach, the cause of Jesus is triumphing; and whatever charges may be brought against your missionaries, to the last day they may safely appeal. Their witness is in heaven, and their record is on high. The negroes love you ardently, for your kindness in sending them the gospel; and their prayers ascend for your welfare. The religion they have supports them when enduring the oft-repeated taunt, or when groaning under the instrument of torture; it cheers them in the hour of death, and enables them to look to heaven as their eternal rest. I speak the feelings of my experience and my heart, when I say, that I do not believe there are a race of christians on earth, who rely more entirely on the atonement for salvation; or who, considering their circumstances, more consistently adorn the profession they make. To them is given, also, to suffer for his sake. I have beheld them when suffering under the murderous cart whip; I have seen them when their backs have been a mass of blood; I have beheld them loaded with a chain in the streets, a spectacle to devils, to angels, and to men; and never have I heard one *murmur*—one *reproach*—against their guilty persecutors. Am I then to be told, that these people display all this christian heroism through the influence of *a piece of paper*, which they have obtained by stealing

' quantum sufficit of their master's provisions ? ' The man who can thus injure the distressed, I despise ; nor would I waste a moment in answering such falsehoods, did I not know I was the servant of the society."

Extracts similar to these might be multiplied to an almost indefinite amount, but I will not sicken you, by increasing these disgusting details of miseries, which exist in those " dark places of the earth," fitly called, "*the habitations of cruelty !*" the colonies of Great Britain ! Alas ! how totally disregarded is that divine precept, "*Do justly, and love mercy*" ! and how correct is the following description of the wise man, "*So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun : and behold the tears of such as are oppressed, and they had no comforter : and on the side of their oppressors there was power ; but they had no comforter. Wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead, more than the living which are yet alive !*" That is, he considered *death* to be a privilege, compared with such a *life* of unpitied oppression, and unmitigated misery ! Again he says, "*If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent preverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter : for he that is higher than the highest regardeth : and there be higher than they !*" " Merciful Father of the human race, thou sittest upon thy throne judging right : 'Thy way is in the sea, and thy footsteps are not known : clouds and darkness are round about thee ; judgment and

justice are the habitation of thy throne.' Thou 'makest the wrath of man to praise thee, and the remainder thereof thou wilt restrain.' We would adore the sovereignty of thy inscrutable conduct, in regard to the misery which thou hast righteously permitted to exist, not doubting but the Judge of the whole earth will do right; and firmly believing that thou wilt make the most afflictive events subserve the accomplishment of thy merciful purposes, in the universal spread of thy gospel, and the ultimate salvation of the whole body of thine elect people. 'Why withdrawest thou thy hand, even thy right hand? pluck it out of thy bosom.' 'Remember the covenant, for the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty. O let not the oppressed return ashamed: let the poor and needy praise thy name. Arise, O Lord, plead thine own cause: remember how the foolish man reproacheth thee daily.'" Oh, that the Father of the universe, may, in compassion, arise, and set the enslaved negroes free. We sometimes sing a hymn, in which there is this expressive verse:—

“ Let the Indian—let the negro—
 Let the rude barbarian see
 That divine and glorious conquest
 Once obtained on Calvary:
 And redemption,
 Freely purchased, win the day.”

II. I now come to shew, that, *according to the predictions of the sacred scriptures, Slavery will cer-*

tainly be brought to an end; and then to mention some of the probable means by which that event will be accelerated and accomplished.

That judicious commentator, the late Rev. Thomas Scott, remarks, when speaking of the divine inspiration of the Bible, "The prophecies contained in the sacred scriptures, and which are fulfilling to this day, fully demonstrate that they are divinely inspired. These form a species of perpetual miracles, which challenge the investigation of men in every age; and which, though overlooked by the careless and prejudiced, cannot fail of producing conviction proportioned to the attention paid to them." *

According to the predictions of the Holy Scriptures, *Nineveh* hath been desolated. It was in reference to the means which would be employed, in its destruction, that the prophet Nahum so sublimely represents the judgments of God upon that wicked city:—" *The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind, and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet.*"† *Babylon* has been swept away, as with the besom of destruction. That description of her utter desolation by Isaiah, has been most literally accomplished: " *And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah: it shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch his tent there; neither shall*

* Preface to the New Testament.

† Nahum i. 3.

*the shepherds make their folds there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there; and the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged.**

It was said, also, of Tyre,† “*And they shall destroy the walls of Tyre, and break down her towers: I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock. It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea; for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God, and it shall become a spoil among the nations.*” Has not this descriptive prediction been most minutely fulfilled? It is worthy of observation, that one of the sins of this great maritime power was, that her merchants “*traded in the persons of men,*”‡ It was this crime that brought down the fury of God, according to the prediction which I have just read. O, England! England! thou modern Tyre, in wealth and crime, especially by thy merchants—the traffickers in the persons of men! tremble, lest thou, having for so long a period—now almost THREE CENTURIES,—and to such an awful extent, been guilty of the *sins* of TYRE, shouldest be punished in a similar manner. England! repent! repent!

Was it not predicted of *Egypt*,§ “*It shall be the basest of the kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any*

* Isaiah xiii. 19—22.

† Ezekiel xxvi. 4, 5.

‡ Ezekiel xxvii. 13.

§ Ezekiel xxix. 14, 15.

more among the nations, for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations." Do not the past history, and the present condition of Egypt, prove its exact accomplishment? Did not our Lord predict the total destruction of the city of Jerusalem, and the temple; and the dispersion of the Jews among all the nations of the earth? The condition of Jerusalem from the time when it was destroyed by Titus Vespasian, and the existence of the Jews, as a people differing from all others upon the face of the earth, are standing monuments, on which is legibly inscribed, as in eternal brass "*I have spoken it, I will also bring it to pass; I have purposed it, I will also do it.*" *

The argument which I found upon these historical facts, which are the demonstrative proofs of the truth of scripture prophecy, is,—that as certainly as those predictions have been most literally and with surprising minuteness accomplished, so other predictions, as yet unaccomplished, shall all be fulfilled in their season. Such are the prophecies of Daniel, Paul, and John, respecting Babylon, mystical Babylon! which doubtless refers to the anti-christian church of Rome! Her dreadful, sudden, and overwhelming destruction is marked with surprising exactness in this eighteenth chapter of the Revelation: "*And the merchants shall weep;*" for what? "*because no man buyeth their merchandize any more.*" What article of merchandize is no longer wanted in the Euro-

* Isaiah xli. 11.

pean markets? “*The merchandize..of SLAVES, and the souls of men:*” Then Slavery will be extinct.

Before I expatiate on the *particular* prophecy, from which my conclusion is drawn, that Slavery will be utterly extinguished; I shall briefly notice some *general* predictions, which bear upon that subject, and which corroborate and confirm that conclusion, such as the following: “*Yea, all kings shall fall down before him; all nations shall serve him. For he shall deliver the needy when he crieth, the poor also, and him that hath no helper. He shall spare the poor and needy, and shall save the souls of the needy. He shall redeem their soul from deceit and violence, and precious shall their blood be in his sight.*” * When the time shall arrive, for the fulfilment of these predictions respecting the universal dominion of the Redeemer, the *bodies and souls* of “the poor and needy,” who had cried to him for deliverance and salvation, shall be “redeemed from deceit and violence”: and to whom does this description apply so forcibly as to the enslaved negroes?

In the predictions of Isaiah, respecting “the things to come concerning” the church, it is added, “*Thus saith the LORD, The labour of Egypt, and merchandize of ETHIOPIA, and of the SABEANS, men of stature, shall come over unto thee, and they shall be thine; they shall come after thee: IN CHAINS THEY*

* Psalm lxxii. 11—14.

SHALL COME OVER UNTO THEE; *and they shall fall down unto thee, they shall make supplication unto thee, saying, Surely God is in thee, and there is none else, there is no God. Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour.*"† To what class of *Ethiopians* and *Sabeans*, both descended from Ham, the son of Noah, and to these too as being *in chains*, can this possibly apply, but to the enslaved and fettered *Africans* in the West India colonies? It opens up to our view, the cheering prospect of their entire—their spiritual emancipation, in their coming, through the knowledge of the gospel, over to the Saviour, even while literally burdened with *chains*, and figuratively with the chains of their sins, that they might be "delivered from the power of darkness, and be brought into the kingdom of God's dear Son." In the *spiritual* sense, this prophecy has, within the last few years, been most gloriously fulfilled among the West Indian Negroes: there is no doubt but it will also receive a *literal*, accomplishment.

Again—"And He shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But they shall sit, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it. In

* Isaiah xlv. 14, 15.

that day, saith the Lord, will I assemble her that halteth, and I will gather her that is driven out, and her that I have afflicted. And I will make her that halted a remnant, and her that was cast off a strong nation: and the Lord shall reign over them in Mount Zion, from henceforth, even for ever."* From this scripture it is most evident, that when the predicted period shall arrive, the poor "driven out" and "afflicted" sons and daughters of Africa shall possess property, and enjoy pleasures, of which they have hitherto been deprived, and to which they, and their progenitors, have, since being imported into the British colonies, been total strangers. These now oppressed negroes shall then experience, to them, the strange delight of "*sitting every man under his [own] vine, and under his [own] fig-tree,*" and sit in such security too, that no *white manager, nor driver, with his cart whip and thumb-screws*, shall ever again "make them afraid."

I now come to the *particular* prophecy, from which I assert that *Slavery will be totally, and for ever extinguished*. It is introduced by a scene of the greatest sublimity:—"I saw," says John, *another Angel come down from heaven, having great power, and the earth was lightened with his glory; and he cried mightily with a strong voice: Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen.*" And the destruction of the Roman hierarchy, which is doubtless intended

* Micah v. 3—7. See also Isaiah ii. 3, 4 and ix. 7—9.

by these words, will be accompanied with the total cessation of the trade in "*SLAVES and souls of men*," for no man will buy such merchandize "any more"; and if there are no *buyers*, there can be no *sellers*, and then the enormous evil of Slavery will exist no longer; and this glorious event, will usher in the jubilee of the world. The ancient jubilee of the Jews, was called "*the year of release*," when liberty was proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof. Then was liberty proclaimed to broken-hearted captives, and those who were bound, were set at liberty! and so also, when the last jubilee shall arrive, there shall be no longer merchandize in "*SLAVES and souls of men*!" (F.) The slave-merchants and slave-holders, "these merchants of the earth," who have "waxed rich" by their infamous traffick in the persons of their fellow men, will weep and lament, because of the utter extinction of their horrid trade, first invented by

" Moloch, bloody king,
Besmeared with blood, and parent's tears,"

because no man will buy their slaves any more! But that which will occasion the most doleful lamentation among those who can no longer trade "*in SLAVES and souls of men*," will cause the friends of the oppressed negro to shout for joy. And what will be their triumphant song, when God shall thus say to the oppressed, "*Go FREE!*" when all the whips, stocks, and carcans, which have

been employed by their tyrants to torment and afflict their slaves, shall be cast into one great bon-fire; and all the chains, fetters, and thumb-screws by which they used to confine, and manacle, and torment their slaves, shall be beaten into hoes and spades, to perform the cultivation of the sugar cane by free labour, their *hire* being no longer kept back by fraud, so that the consumers of that pleasant article of West India produce shall use it without any apprehension of its having been saturated with negroes' blood! O, the delightful anticipation, when the horrors of procuring slaves in Africa shall be known "no more at all;" * when the miseries of the middle passage shall be endured "no more at all;" when the exhibition of men, women, and children in the public market, shall take place "no more at all;" when affectionate fathers, and mothers, and children shall be severed from each other "no more at all," for—

"Skins may differ, but affection
Dwells in black and white the same."

When it shall "no more at all" be said, at the birth of an innocent infant, "A *slave* is born into the world." When the birth of a son will, for the first time, cause the *negress* so much joy as to forget the anguish which she felt in giving it life! Then shall connubial love take the place of licentious intercourse, and God's law, in regard to

* See Revelation xviii. 22.

marriage, will be observed. "Those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder;"—then the slave-holder, who has neither "feared God, nor regarded man," shall "no more at all" separate man and wife asunder, by selling them to different masters;—then the happy emancipated negro shall have his children about him; and, enlightened by the gospel of Christ, shall train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;—then shall he and his family attend the public worship of God, apprehending "no more at all" the burning or razing of the temples of worship, nor that the servants of God, who have shewn him the way of salvation, will be torn from their flocks, immured in prisons, treated with cruelty, and exposed to a martyr's death! (G.)

But I asked, what will be the triumphant song of all the friends of God and man, in what may be truly called this "age of gold?" It will be a similar song to that which Israel sung when the sea had swallowed up their enemies, and when they found themselves emancipated and at liberty,—no longer Pharaoh's bondmen, but the Lord's free men, delivered from the furnace of iron, from the house of bondage, from the oppressor's lash, and the tyrant's gripe: "*Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? who is like unto thee? Glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders. Thou stretchest out thy right hand; thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people which thou hast redeemed.*" "*Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God*

*Almighty ; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints. Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name, for thou only art holy : for all nations shall come and worship before thee : for thy judgments are made manifest.”**

Then shall that animating prediction be applicable to the condition of the emancipated negro, and to his improved circumstances: “ *For ye shall go forth with joy, and be led forth with peace : the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the briar shall come up the myrtle tree : and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign, that shall not be cut off.*” †

“ The groans of nature in this nether world,
Which heaven has heard for ages, have an end,
Foretold by prophets, and by poets sung,
Whose fire was kindled at the prophets’ lamp,
The time of rest, the promis’d Sabbath, comes.”

I shall now proceed to mention, *some of the probable means, by which the utter extinction of Slavery shall be consummated.*

When our Divine Lord foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, he intimated that certain infallible signs would precede the event, so that all wise observers might know that it was “ nigh at hand,

* Exodus xv. 11—13. Rev. xv. 3, 4.

† Isaiah lv. 12, 13.

even at the doors." * I am not about to fix any precise period *when* the abolition of Slavery will take place, as I consider such attempts unwarranted by the style of scripture prophecy, and a proof of pride or weakness. I am of opinion, with Prideaux, that *providence is the only infallible expositor of prophecy*: he says, "It being of the nature of such prophecies [which relate to the extirpation of anti-christ] not thoroughly to be understood, till they are thoroughly fulfilled." † This sentiment is supported by the following beautiful parable, uttered by our Lord, in reference to that approaching catastrophe: "*Now behold, and learn a parable of the fig tree: When its branch is yet tender, and shoots forth its leaves, ye see and know of yourselves that summer is near at hand. So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand, even at the door.*" "And there shall be SIGNS in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars, and upon the earth, distress of nations, with perplexity, the sea, and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming upon the earth." ‡ I ask whether this is not a correct picture of the SIGNS of the present period? Was there ever a time, in regard to politics, trade, commerce, and religion, when there was more "distress of nations," more "per-

* Matthew xxiv. 33.

† Prideaux's Connections, vol. II. book iii. page 219.

‡ Luke xxi. 26.

plexity ;” when the hearts of men so failed them with fear ; or when such portentous expectations were indulged, as to the final results of various events which are now taking place at home—in the colonies of the empire—and, in fact, in every part of the world ? Are there not visible “ *SIGNS in the sun, and the moon, and the stars,*” considering these to be the symbols of distinguished rank, authority, and government. The nations are shaken to their bases, and political measures are taking place, which will affect the future welfare of millions, in all the succeeding generations of men. But I shall notice these only, in so far as they appear to bear upon the accomplishment of the prediction in relation to the extinction of that merchandize—the traffic in “ *SLAVES, and souls of men.*” At present, the heartless oppressors of these slaves are saying, in the pride and atheism of their hearts, “ *With our tongue will we prevail: our lips are our own: who is Lord over us!*” and is it not most evident, from “ *the signs of the times,*” that the answer to these infidel taunts is also fulfilling: “ *For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him.*” *

Some of the remarkable *signs* of the present times, are of a most awful nature, and others of an animating kind. Of the former description I may mention the dreadful hurricane, which, a few

* Psalm xii. 4, 5.

months since, occasioned the destruction of so much property, and the loss of so many lives, in the island of Barbadoes. Listen to the "Negro's Complaint":—

" Is there, as ye sometimes tell us,
Is there One who reigns on high?
Has he bid you buy and sell us,
Speaking from his throne, the sky?
Ask him, if your knotted scourges,
Matches, blood-extorting screws,
Are the means which duty urges,
Agents of his will to use?

Hark! he answers—wild tornadoes,
Strewing yonder sea with wrecks;
Wasting towns, plantations, meadows,
Are the voice with which he speaks.
He foreseeing what vexations
Afric's sons should undergo,
Fix'd their tyrant's habitations
Where his whirlwinds answer—No! " *

Another of these tremendous signs is, the *awful insurrection* lately broken out in the island of Jamaica, which has already been attended with such immense loss to the planters, and with the destruction of so many of the discontented negroes. And who, that knows any thing of the awful cruelties which have been exercised upon the negroes in that island, for so many years past, and the almost indescribable wickedness and profaneness that prevail among its inhabitants, espe-

* Cowper.

cially the *whites*, can be surprised that the hand of God is gone out against them? “*Because,*” says the prophet, “*they have cast away the law of the Lord of hosts, and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel: therefore is the anger of the Lord kindled; and he hath stretched forth his hand against them, and hath smitten them: and the hills did tremble, and their carcasses were torn in the midst of the streets. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still.*”

If, to the above mentioned enormities, I add the *implacable malice* which they have lately discovered against the Baptist missionaries in Jamaica, evidently thirsting for their blood; is it too much to expect that the divine hand will be upon them, in a similar manner as when it fell upon the Jewish nation, at the time of Jerusalem’s destruction:— “*Who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and HAVE PERSECUTED US: and they please not God, and are contrary to all men, FORBIDDING US TO SPEAK TO THE GENTILES, THAT THEY MIGHT BE SAVED, to fill up their sins alway: for the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.*” * Their persecuting the ministers of Christ was the “filling-up” sin! (H.)

I consider another of the awful signs, and which is a certain prognostic of direful calamities in the colonies, at least for a season, the *spirit of contumacy and rebellion, on the part of the West India body, both in the colonies and in England, towards*

* 1 Thess ii. 15, 16.

His Majesty's government; and this merely because some ameliorating measures have been adopted in regard to the negroes. That any class of subjects, and that too in the metropolis of the empire, should have pronounced an act of the king's council, "unjust and oppressive," is sufficiently alarming; but that these mendacious epithets should be employed, merely because they were commanded to provide their "own property" with suitable protection, and sufficient food; and that their "cattle" should not be so over-worked, and under-fed, as to reduce their value in the market, shews the malignant feelings of their hearts, when any thing is attempted, in order that the captive might be delivered from their rapacious gripe. It is not difficult, however, to perceive how this resistance to the wise and humane provisions of the king and his ministers, may tend to the more speedy destruction of the system. There is a maxim, the truth of which the history of the world confirms, that "*God infatuates whom he intends to destroy.*"

I said there were some signs of the times, of the most *animating* kind: I allude to such as these:—1. *The recent emancipation of upwards of TWO THOUSAND slaves*, which had been escheated to the king, and therefore called "crown slaves." This is to be regarded as a symptom of the desire, and probably of the intention, of His Majesty's present ministers, to put an end to the whole system of slavery. 2. The late "*Orders (I.) in Coun-*

cil," which, instead of recommendations, as in all former instances, contain positive commands to the governors of the crown colonies, and expressive hints to the legislatures of the *chartered* colonies to ameliorate the condition of the negroes, from a day named in those orders. May not this be regarded as expressive of their determination, no longer to trust to the hollow professions of the planters, that they are themselves opposed to slavery in the abstract; a state of things which never has, nor can possibly exist, and that they will, as speedily as possible, ameliorate the circumstances of the negroes. 3. *The avowed and fixed intention of the government, to relieve, by a remission of part of the sugar duties, those colonies which will carry their "Orders" into full effect, while they will grant no relief to those which resist them.*

To these cheering signs, may be added—4. *The general feeling of the British public, in regard to the crime of Slavery, and that its immediate and total abolition ought to be carried into effect; as expressed by their presenting, in the last session of parliament, to the legislature, almost 6,000 petitions. And, in the last place, that the public press, in several instances at least, begins to advocate the right of the negro to freedom.*

I add to these signs, that most animating fact, that so many thousands of the negroes have, of late years especially, been made *the subjects of the renewing and saving grace of God*. I am not acquainted with the state of this fact among other

societies, but in regard to the Baptist missionaries, they have indeed, in a most remarkable manner, been made "fishers of men." They have been directed, by their divine Lord, how to cast the net of the gospel on the right side of the ship, and they have drawn thousands—many thousands of converted negroes, from the vortex and whirlpool of ignorance and vice, to the shores of spiritual knowledge and holiness of life. During the last ten years, there have been from 10 to 12,000 negroes baptized, upon a credible profession of "repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ," and received as members of the churches in the island of Jamaica. There were connected with the Baptist Mission, before the late insurrection, about 30,000 persons, all (with the exception of a very few *whites*) free and enslaved *negroes*. Is not this a proof, that Jehovah has heard the voice of their groaning, and granted them emancipation of the highest kind: even the glorious liberty of the children of God? What an illustrious proof of divine sovereignty, that has thus called the oppressed negro to freedom, whilst their haughty tyrants have been left, by the righteous judgment of God, to the dominion of their sins! "*I thank thee, O Father,*" said the Lord Jesus Christ, "*Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight.*" Thus "He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the beggar

from the dunghill, to set them among princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory: for the pillars of the earth are the Lord's, and he hath set the world upon them." * "For he hath looked down from the height of his sanctuary; from heaven did the Lord behold the earth; to hear the groaning of the prisoner, to loose those that are appointed to death." † "Who is like to the Lord our God, who dwelleth on high, who humbleth himself to behold the things that are in heaven and in the earth. He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the needy out of the dunghill, that he may set him with princes, even the princes of his people: Praise ye the Lord!" ‡ (K.)

Again, it is a most remarkable and encouraging *sign of the times*, that we should have, at such a time as this, one of the most *patriotic monarchs* that ever sat even on the British throne. I cannot refrain from quoting an extract from the declaration made to the Council at the Court of St. James's, on the 26th June, 1830, by our noble King, William IV. (whom, with his royal consort the Queen, may the God of all grace bless and preserve, and make their reign long, prosperous, and happy)—"I WILL," said His Majesty, "UNDER THE BLESSING OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE, MAINTAIN THE REFORMED RELIGION, ESTABLISHED BY LAW; PROTECT THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES; AND PROMOTE THE PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS OF ALL

* 1 Sam. ii. 10

† Psalm cii. 19, 20.

‡ Psalm cxii. 5—9.

CLASSES OF MY PEOPLE.”* O that HE, “by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice,” may now put the thing into the king’s heart, to “promote the prosperity and happiness” of that unhappy class of his people, the oppressed negroes in the British colonies, by granting them instant emancipation.

From all the considerations which I have mentioned, I feel myself warranted in adopting our Lord’s language to his disciples, in application to the groaning and weeping descendants of the kidnapped, and robbed, and spoiled, and murdered sons and daughters of Africa, and to conclude in relation to the prediction concerning the total abolition of slavery, that “*this generation shall not pass away, till all these things be fulfilled.*† Hear, then, for your comfort, ye *sable* brethren of the human race—ye most oppressed of the family of man—Hear the Saviour of the world saying unto you, HE that hath “all power, both in heaven and in earth;” and who sits as “KING IN ZION,”: — “LIFT UP YOUR HEADS, FOR YOUR REDEMPTION DRAWETH NIGH.”‡ (L.)

I shall conclude this Lecture, by noticing some of THE USES to which its principles are applicable.

1. The certainty that Slavery in the bodies of men will be utterly extinguished, should excite

* Morning Herald, June 28, 1830.

† Matthew xxiv. 34.

‡ Luke xxi. 28.

us to the MOST ZEALOUS USE OF EVERY MEANS which is within our power, likely to contribute towards that extinction. "Until," says Toplady, "I have tried every means to accomplish any purpose, I know not which of them God has designed to bless." The foreknowledge of God has no influence upon man to destroy his free agency; and the predestinating counsel of Jehovah does not interfere with man's accountability. The most firm believer in the doctrine of a divine superintending providence over all events, will be the most active person in attending to all divine commands; knowing, from the scriptures, that God has joined the end and the means so firmly together, that they can never be separated; "for the sluggard that will not plough by reason of the cold, shall beg in harvest, and have nothing." The apostle Paul had an absolute assurance from an angel of God, when he and his companions were exposed to the peril of shipwreck, that the life of no one on board should be lost; yet when he saw the sailors about to leave the wreck, by letting down the boat, he instantly said, "Except these [sailors] abide in the ship ye cannot be saved." That the crew would be all saved was certain, from the promise of God; but that their safety was essentially connected with the *nautical* skill of the sailors, was equally true. The judicious Dr. Doddridge calls this passage of scripture, "a remarkable illustration of the obligations we are under to *use the most proper means* for

security and success, even while we are committing ourselves to the care of divine providence, and waiting for the accomplishment of God's *own promises*. For it would be most unreasonable to imagine, that he ever intended any promise to encourage rational creatures to act in a wild irrational manner: or to remain inactive, when he has given them natural capacities of doing something, at least, for their own benefit. It is in exerting these, that we are to expect his powerful aid; and all the grace, beauty, and wisdom of the promise would be lost, if we were to take it in any other view: to abuse it in a contrary view, is, at best, *vain and dangerous presumption*, if all pretence of relying upon it be not *profane hypocrisy*." *

I hope I have proved, from the inspired scriptures, that the extinction of Slavery is absolutely certain, because God has decreed it, and his word hath declared it. So far, however, from this expectation tending to unnerve our arm, or relax our exertions, let it stimulate us to a renewed use of all those moral and constitutional efforts which are likely to lead to so desirable a result. If it be by abstinence from the produce of the abused sugar-cane; if it be by associating together for the purpose of diffusing correct information upon the evils of slavery; if it be by using the public press yet more extensively; if it be by more urgently, and more numerous petitioning the

* Family Expositor.

legislature; or by adopting a measure as yet untried, that of presenting a most earnest petition to our noble patriot king! Let us, I say, while certain that slavery will come to its end, and that none shall help it; come forth "to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."* Let us never cease supplicating the British government, to perform this act of justice and mercy towards more than 755,000 of our fellow-men and fellow-subjects, until they shall fix a day, beyond which no child shall be born in slavery; and determine that no person, of either sex, at present in bondage, shall continue any longer in thralldom and misery.

2. The certainty that slavery is doomed to total extinction should lead all pious persons to "*pray without ceasing,*" *that God would succeed the means employed to better the condition of the negroes, and to work their speedy release.* We have several scripture examples of the prayers of the godly being encouraged by the certainty of the blessing sought being promised. David thus expresses himself:— "*For thou, O Lord God of hosts, God of Israel, hast revealed to thy servant, saying, I will build thee an house: therefore, hath thy servant found in his heart to pray this prayer unto thee.*"† So Daniel:—" *I, Daniel, understood by books the number of the years, whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish the seventy years in the destruction of Jerusalem. And I set my face unto*

* Judges v. 23.

† 1 Samuel vii. 27.

the Lord God, to seek by prayer and supplications, with fasting, with sackcloth, and with ashes." * To make the revealed purposes of Jehovah, the ground of importunate prayer, is to act according to his will. "*Yet for all these things will I be enquired of by the house of Israel, to do these things for them.*" † It has been well said, "Prayer moves the hand that moves the universe." "*I said not,*" said Jehovah, "*unto the house of Jacob, seek ye my face in vain.*"

There is every encouragement then for us "to seek by prayer and supplication," that our fellow men may be speedily emancipated from their grievous thralldom of slavery. Nor should we forget especially to pray, that whether the present race of negroes live to enjoy this, or whether their posterity shall possess the blessing, that they should all know a liberty of an higher kind; liberty from the bondage of sin and Satan:—"For if the Son make you free," said the Lord Jesus, "*ye shall be free indeed*":—

"But there is yet a liberty, unsung
By poets, and by senators unpraised,
Which monarchs cannot grant, nor all the powers
Of earth and hell confederate take away.
A liberty which persecution, fraud,
Oppressions, prisons, have no power to bind;
Which whoso tastes can be enslaved no more.
'Tis liberty of heart derived from heaven,
Bought with His blood, who gave it to mankind,

* Daniel ix. 2, 3.

† Ezekiel xxxvi. 37.

And sealed with the same token. It is held
 By charter, and that charter sanctioned sure
 By the unimpeachable and awful oath
 And promise of a God.

* * * *

Grace makes the slave a freeman."*

3. As the total extinction of slavery is certain, then *those persons especially who call themselves Christians, and who hold their fellow-men in bondage, should instantly declare their slaves to be free.* "And I heard," says John, "another voice from heaven, saying, *Come out of her my people, and be not partakers of her plagues.*"† This was addressed to persons who were traffickers in "*beasts, and sheep, and horses, and SLAVES, and the souls of men*"; and, therefore, supposes that persons calling themselves the followers of the Lamb, will be found, when the destruction of that awful merchandize shall take place, within the walls of that city, which, with all who remain in her, shall be burnt with fire. How seriously should this solemn call sound in the ears of *christian* slave-holders! Should not "the Society for propagating the Gospel" instantly emancipate those of their fellow subjects whom they have converted into slaves, and still hold in bondage? And should not the Moravian Missionary Society, from a regard to religion, justice, and humanity, at once let the oppressed go free? (M.) And should not those rich Protestant Dissenting gentlemen, and others,

* Cowper

† Rev. xviii. 4.

who hold slaves, or manage slave estates, forego every secular advantage, and disentangle themselves from every engagement which prevents them from proclaiming liberty to the captives? In a letter written from Jamaica, in February, 1831, one of the Baptist Missionaries says—"I wonder how such good men as Mr. ——— and Mr. ——— can have any thing to do with such a horrid system."

I shall mention an instance of an eminent minister, who cleared himself from a participation in the crimes of the slave trade. This was the late Rev. John Newton, who, for some time after his conversion, was employed as the captain of a slave-ship. He says, "However, I considered myself as a sort of *gaoler* or *turnkey*, and I was sometimes shocked with an employment that was perpetually consonant with chains, bolts, and shackles. In this view, I had often petitioned in my prayers, that the Lord in his own time would be pleased to fix me in a more humane calling. My prayers were now answered."

The next instance is of that pious lady Mrs. Isabella Graham, who was left with a young family at Antigua, and of whom it is said in her memoir, that, after she became a widow,—“On examining into the state of her husband’s affairs she discovered there remained not quite two hundred pounds sterling in her agent’s hands. The circumstances afforded an opportunity for the display of the purity of Mrs. G.’s principles; and

her rigid adherence to the commandments of her God in every situation. It was proposed to her, and urged with great argument, *to sell the two Indian girls, her late husband's property.* No considerations of interest, or necessity, could prevail upon her *to make merchandize of her fellow creatures, the works of her heavenly father's hand; immortal beings!* One of these girls accompanied her to Scotland, where she was married, the other died in Antigua, leaving an affectionate testimony to the kindness of her dear master and mistress."

I am happy to add, that I have heard from our Missionaries, that several persons in Jamaica have, lately, from the power of the gospel upon their hearts, given up their *slaves*, who like Mrs. G. could not any longer "hold property in their fellow creatures—immortal beings." One of these is the persecuted Baptist Missionary, Mr. William Whitehorn, who, on his conversion, two or three years since, immediately liberated his domestic slaves. (N.) Worthy examples these for the imitation of all who profess themselves to be the disciples of Christ. Should not such persons in particular, who profess to owe to, and to expect every blessing from, the divine compassion, to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said:—"OUGHTEST THOU NOT TO HAVE HAD PITY ON THY FELLOW-SERVANT, EVEN AS I HAD PITY ON THEE?"

APPENDIX.

No. 1. Page iv.

As one proof of the correctness of this statement I quote an extract from a speech of the lamented patriot, the late Sir Samuel Romilly, delivered by him on the memorable night of the abolition of the Slave Trade, a speech which was received with such distinguished applause, that the delivery of one animated passage was followed by three distinct plaudits, an event which never perhaps occurred before in the House of Commons. Towards the conclusion he introduced the following brilliant apostrophe:—"When I look at the man [Napoleon Bonaparte] at the head of the French monarchy, surrounded as he is with all the pride of power, and all the pride of victory, distributing kingdoms to his family, and principalities to his followers; seeming as he sits upon his throne to have reached the summit of human ambition, and the pinnacle of earthly happiness;—and when I follow him into his closet, or to his bed, and contemplate the anguish with which his solitude must be tortured by the recollection of the blood he has spilt, and the oppressions he has committed; and when I compare with these pangs of remorse the feelings which must accompany my honourable friend [Mr. Wilberforce] from this house to his home, after the vote of this night shall have accomplished the object of his humane and unceasing labours; when he shall retire into the bosom of his delighted and happy family; when he lay himself down upon his bed, reflecting on the innumerable voices that will be raised in every quarter of the world to bless his name; how much more enviable his lot in the consciousness of having preserved so many millions of his fellow creatures, than that of the man with whom I have compared him, on a throne to which he has waded through slaughter and oppression! Who will not be proud to concur with my honoured friend in pro-

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moting the greatest act of national benefit, and securing to the Africans the greatest blessing which God has ever put it in the power of man to confer on his fellow creatures."—*The Legal Observer, or Journal of Jurisprudence, for April, 1832*, p. 383.

(A.) Page 8.

That such a charter as that which constituted the "Royal African Company" should have been granted by such a licentious profligate monarch as Charles II., as one of the first acts of his reign, is not at all surprising. Nor is it wonderful that no remonstrance on the part of the then obsequious parliament should have been made; nor, as far as appears, any *protest* left respecting it. A charter to enslave *freemen* on the coast of Guinea was quite in keeping with the "Act of Uniformity," passed in the same year, by which more than 2,000 Ministers were ejected from their parishes; and the "Act for compelling Quakers to take an oath," which exposed them to great hardships; and the "Conventicle Act," for tormenting Nonconformists, and preventing their separate meetings, should have been also passed in the same year. I can easily conceive that Milton would have felt so indignant on account of the proceedings of this "Royal African Company," as to have produced the most emphatic lines introduced at the commencement of this Lecture, in page 4.

(B.) Page 9.

The bill for the abolition of the Slave Trade was passed on March 25, 1807. By this act it was enacted that no slave should be imported into our colonies after March 1, 1808,

(C.) Page 10.

It is said (page 10) that from 1780 to 1830 there had been an increase in the number of slaves in Jamaica of 81,000. Lest this should convey an erroneous idea, it should also be known that "there have been imported into that island alone, since its conquest by Britain, no less than 850,000 Africans; and if

we add to this number 40,000 previously brought by the Spaniards, we have a total of 890,000, exclusive of all the births which have taken place since that period, and yet two years ago, from the oppressive hardships under which the slave population have laboured, they were reduced to 33,000."—*The Negro's Friend*, No. 19, Page 5.

A paper has been circulated, which will throw still further light upon this dreadful topic of the rapid diminution of human life in the colonies, entitled "A Statement of the Decrease of the Slave Population in the Sugar Colonies," signed Thomas Fowell Buxton, and dated April 4, 1832, and said to be drawn up from official returns. The following statement is the "RECAPITULATION":—

| | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|----------------------|--------|
| Antigua | . | . | Decrease in 11 years | 868 |
| Berbice | . | . | ditto 9 ditto | 1,844 |
| Demerara | . | . | ditto 12 ditto | 13,367 |
| Grenada | . | . | ditto 12 ditto | 2,597 |
| Jamaica | . | . | ditto 12 ditto | 19,163 |
| Montserrat | . | . | ditto 11 ditto | 131 |
| Nevis | . | . | ditto 11 ditto | 192 |
| St. Christopher's | . | . | ditto 10 ditto | 69 |
| St. Lucia | . | . | ditto 13 ditto | 1,942 |
| St. Vincent's | . | . | ditto 10 ditto | 1,248 |
| Tobago | . | . | ditto 10 ditto | 2,803 |
| Tortola | . | . | ditto 10 ditto | 143 |
| Trinidad | . | . | ditto 13 ditto | 6,068 |

| | | | | |
|--|---|---|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| Decrease in the above 13 Colonies, the average being $11\frac{1}{3}$ years | | | | 50,435 |
| Mauritius | . | . | Decrease in $10\frac{2}{3}$ years | 10,767 |
| | | | | <hr/> 61,202 |

DEDUCT. Increase in the two following Colonies, viz.—

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|-------------|---|-------------|
| Dominica | . | in 9 years | . | 11 |
| Barbadoes | . | in 12 years | . | 5,986 |
| | | | | <hr/> 5,997 |

Total Decrease in the Slave Population in the Sugar Colonies, on an average of 11 years 55,205

(D.) Page 10.

At the Annual Meeting at Exeter Hall, on the 23d of April, 1831, Mr. O'Connell said,—“ But the speech of Mr. Burge, had filled him with such disgust and indignation that he could not then, [on the evening when Mr. Buxton's motion was before the house,] have spoken calmly. ‘*What,*’ said Mr. Burge, ‘*would you come in between a man and his freehold!*’ I started,” said Mr. O'Connell, “ as if something unholy had trampled on my father's grave, and I exclaimed with horror,—*A freehold in a human being!*”—*Anti-slavery Reporter*, vol. iv, page 268.

(E.) Page 13.

The following extracts from Blackstone's Commentaries the intelligent reader will perceive bear strongly upon the state of the question between the planter and the negro, admitting the argument to be settled, that whether considered as an *alien*, born out of the King's dominions, or as *natural born* within the dominions of the kingdom of England, all the negroes in our colonies, under one or other of these designations, are *subjects* of the British Crown. They are from the chapters entitled, “ The Rights of Persons,” and the “ Absolute Rights of Individuals.”—*Book 1.*

“ The first and most obvious division of the people is into *aliens* and *natural-born subjects*. Natural born within the dominions of the crown of England; that is, within the allegiance, or as it is generally called, the allegiance of the king; and aliens, such as are born out of it. Allegiance is the tie or *ligamen* which binds the subject to the king, in return for that protection which the king affords the subject.”

“ Next to personal security, the law of England, regards, asserts, and preserves the personal liberty of individuals. This personal liberty consists in the power of loco-motion, of changing situation, or moving one's person to whatever place our own inclination may direct; without imprisonment or restraint, unless by due course of law, concerning which we

may make the same observations as upon the preceding article; that it is a right strictly natural; that the laws of England have never abridged it without sufficient cause."

"A man's limbs are also the gifts of a merciful Creator, to enable him to protect himself from external injuries in a state of nature. *To these, therefore, he has a natural inherent right, and they cannot be wantonly destroyed or disabled without a manifest breach of civil liberty.*"

The nature of the government of Jamaica is thus described by Blackstone, in his chapter "Of the countries subject to the laws of England." "Charter governments, are of the nature of civil corporations, with the power of making bye-laws for their own immediate regulation, *not contrary to the laws of England*; and with such rights and authorities as are specially given them in their charters of incorporation." "It is particularly declared by statute 7 and 8 William III. c. 22, that all laws, bye-laws, usages, and customs, which shall be in practice in any of the plantations, repugnant to any law, made or to be made in this kingdom relative to the said plantations, shall be utterly void and without effect."

(F.) Page 37.

On this verse my late excellent friend, the Rev. Andrew Fuller, in his *common-sense*, "Expository Discourses on the Apocalypse," remarks, "The *kings* are joined in their lamentations by the '*merchants*,' and who seem to be those who have made a trade of religion; which, however it may include many amongst the laity, must refer more immediately to the mercenary part of the clergy. The most notable *article* in the list of her commodities is 'the souls of men.' There is doubtless an allusion to Ezek. xxvii. 13, but 'the persons of men,' can there mean only *slaves*, whereas the souls of men are here distinguished from *slaves*. *Tyre* dealt only in *men's bodies*, but *Rome* in their *souls*. I know not what else to make of the sale of indulgencies, and pardons; of the buying and selling church-livings; of confessions, prayers for the dead, and of every other means of extorting money from the ignorant."

(G.) Page 39.

As so much odium has been cast upon the Baptist Missionaries, and especially upon the Rev. Mr. Burchell, and his colleagues at Montego-bay, it seems proper somewhat more than a mere allusion should be made to their characters and labours.

In February 17, 1830, a Missionary, Mr. James Mann, died. He had been associated with Mr. Burchell. Let a most respectable gentleman, on whose estates Mr. Mann laboured, be heard, in pronouncing his elegy, which was addressed to the Rev. J. Dyer, Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society.

“ It gives me great pleasure to have it in my power to afford you the following satisfactory evidence of the conduct of your Missionaries in Jamaica, as extracted from a letter of my brother to me, dated August 28; and that the following statement may and should carry the more weight with it, I think it right to say, that he has been a resident in that island for upwards of two years, and that both he and I, having a considerable interest at stake there, must necessarily feel much alive to every circumstance likely to disturb the peace and well-being of that colony. He begins by speaking of your Missionary at Falmouth, Mr. Mann.

“ ‘ I cannot help expressing my astonishment, that men placed in the situation of Mr. Mann, holding strongly upon the affections of the people by the medium of religion, should use their influence so wisely, because so moderately, *that they scarcely seem to clash with the prejudices of the planter.* Can there be a greater proof afforded, of the temperate exercise of power over these uneducated people’s minds, than that, though every eye is upon the alert to detect an abusive influence, and every imagination is at work to construe some disturbance amongst the negroes, as attributable to the Baptists, no proof has yet been given, founded upon any thing like liberality or fairness, that they have ever worked upon any other feeling than that of religion. Through good and through evil report they travel on, availing themselves of the assistance of the proprietor, wherever the least encouragement is held out to them, and disconnecting themselves from local as well as general politics.’ He then goes on to say,

that, in compliance with my desire, he had made arrangements with your Missionary, Mr. Mann, to go once a week to my estates, distant from the place of his residence seven miles, in order to preach, and teach the negroes, for which purpose a part of Wednesday is appropriated. I need now merely add, from the great good, moral and religious, which I anticipate from this labour of love amongst them, how much I should deplore any steps being taken by the Legislature in Jamaica, and to be sanctioned by his Majesty's ministers at home, likely in the remotest degree to frustrate what I am convinced can alone tend to improve the condition of the slave, and raise him in the scale of our common humanity."

The following was printed in the Baptist Missionary Herald in June, 1831, which will shew the spirit of opposition which had begun to manifest itself:—"At Montego-bay, Mr. Burchell continues to be subject to vexatious annoyance, from those 'who love darkness rather than light.' As if to shew how fully they answer to this inspired description, they have actually seized the lamps in the chapel, under the pretext of some new local impost laid on the building, and which Mr. B. properly declined paying till he could receive directions from home. Steps will of course be taken to ascertain how far the perpetrators of these dishonourable proceedings can act thus with impunity; but, surely we may hope, the day approaches in which effectual measures will be taken, both at home and abroad, to secure religious worship from insult, and those who maintain it from oppression."

(H.) Page 44.

The following is copied from the "Despatches and Correspondence, respecting the Slave Insurrection in the West India Colonies," ordered to be printed 29th March, 1832; and is an extract from No. 8, entitled "Copy of a Despatch from Viscount Goderich to the Earl of Belmore, dated Downing Street, 1st of March, 1832," and will afford high gratification to all the friends of the Redeemer, and cause "abundant thanksgivings to God," that the affairs of the Colonies, at this crisis, should be confided to so judicious and christian a nobleman as Lord Goderich.

Speaking of the malice against the Baptist Missionaries, his Lordship says, "It is not, however, merely to a misconception of religious truth, but to the direct instigation of some of the missionaries, that the recent insurrection is ascribed in some of the documents which your Lordship has transmitted. I have observed, with great satisfaction, the efforts which you so judiciously made, to guard the persons to whom it would belong to sit in judgment on the missionaries, against the influence of religious prejudices; and I trust that the caution which you have given, will effectually prevent the manifestation of any intemperate or hostile spirit towards them in any subsequent stage of the proceedings. I must distinctly avow my conviction that the improbability of the charge is so extreme, that nothing short of the most irresistible evidence could induce a belief of it. The missionaries who engage in the office of converting the slaves in our colonies, cannot, with charity or justice, be supposed to be actuated by any views of secular ambition or personal advantage. They devote themselves to an obscure, and arduous, and ill-requited service; they are well apprized that distrust and jealousy will attend them, and that the path they have chosen, leads neither to wealth nor reputation. If in their case, as in that of other men, motives less exclusively sacred than those which are avowed may exercise some influence on their minds, it were irrational either to feel surprize, or to cherish suspicion on that account. The great ruling motive must in general be that which is professed, since in general there is no other advantage to be obtained, than the consciousness of having contributed to the diffusion of christianity throughout the world. To suppose men who act habitually on such a principle, either so insensible to the restraints of conscience, or so perverted in their estimate of right and wrong, as to foment insurrection and civil war, for the subversion of slavery; or to believe them insensible to the extreme danger and suffering in which, by engaging in such an enterprize, they must involve those for whose benefit the contest was to be undertaken, would argue rather an heated and prejudiced mind, than a discerning judgment, and a correct acquaintance with human character. When, therefore, I consider that no motive can be rationally assigned, which should have induced the missionaries to em-

back in so guilty and desperate an undertaking, I cannot but earnestly trust, that the trial of any of their number, who may be charged with a participation in this rebellion, may have been postponed until comparative tranquillity should have succeeded to the first panic; and that such trials may have been conducted, not before a military tribunal, but with all the regular forms of law. *Should any such missionary have been convicted, and be awaiting the execution of his sentence on the arrival of this despatch, your Lordship will not permit that sentence to be carried into effect, till His Majesty's pleasure can be known."*

(I.) Page 45.

In the letter of Lord Goderich to the Colonies, dated Downing Street, December 10, 1831, his lordship says—"I am anxious to convey to them an adequate impression of the necessity which exists, for us to take at length some effective steps towards the redemption of the pledges given, with the concurrence of the West India body, in 1823, and of the solicitude which we have felt to consult the interests of the planters, simultaneously with those of the slaves, and to accomplish, by such means as should be the least unacceptable to the owners of West India property, an object which it has become impossible to postpone, without compromising the dignity and consistency of the imperial legislature, and occasioning danger to all parties concerned."

"If His Majesty's present advisers have resolved to pursue no further this course of warning and entreaty, it is not that they are in any degree less anxious to conciliate the goodwill, whilst they consult the real interests of the colonists, but only because they feel that the language of admonition has been exhausted, and that any further attempt to produce an impression upon the legislature, by the same means alone, could add nothing of the respect of those bodies for the authority of the Crown, whilst it would be in vain to expect that it could contribute any thing to the accomplishment of the object in view."

"It cannot be too distinctly explained, that the measure to be submitted to Parliament, will be so framed, that the indispensable condition of receiving the consequent benefit, will be the fact of a statute having passed the colonial legislature, simply, and without qualification in terms, or limitation of time, declaring the order in council to possess the force of law in the colony."

(K.) Page 48.

The following affords a specimen of the kind of instruction which have been given by the Missionaries, and of the mental character of the persons admitted by them to baptism.—

"The contributor of the following brief article, was once a little sceptical about the great success of the Baptist West-India Missionaries, on account of the vast number of supposed conversions; but, having been permitted to see their labours and the good effected, he begs leave to give as a sample a few of the many queries and answers which the missionary and the candidate for baptism respectively put and received, prior to that ordinance.

"What is sin? "All that don't fitten." Another, "All the badness we do 'foretime." Who is Jesus Christ? "The Son of God." And what has He done for our salvation? "Him 'tand for we." Another, "Him get himself wound for we." Do you repent of sin? "Ebery ting me do 'foretime, me sorry for to me heart." How did you know yourself to be a sinner? "Me tink me a sinner; for me hearee de Bible read." Do you love Jesus? "Me lub me Massa Jesus; me wish me always at Him feet." Why do you love the Saviour? "For Him come down and be crucified, and Him 'till pray." Can you do good of yourself? "By de power of Jesus." Why do you wish to be baptized? "Massa Jesus leave de word, and me wish to follow him track." But if any one should mock you afterwards, what would you do?" "Me take him hand, and me say, how you do?" What does the minister break the bread for, and pour out the wine? "To mind upon it, and 'member upon it, how Massa Jesus

body broke for we, how Him precious blood 'pilt for we." Why do you wish to partake of the Lord's Supper? "It bring feeling over me mind; for Him wounded for me sin." One of them having been asked if she loved God, replied in the affirmative; and on being further asked, whether she loved all the brethren and sisters, answered, "Hi Massa! me no lub me broder and me sisters, who me see ebery day, when me lub God who me neber see."—*Missionary Herald*, January, 1832.

(L.) Page 49.

I had a few months since an opportunity of speaking to the Rev. Mr. Wray, who has been a Missionary more than twenty years in Demerara and Berbice. He was the intimate friend and brother of the faithful Smith, the murdered Missionary. I asked Mr. Wray, whether from the knowledge which he had of the negroes he thought their emancipation would be attended with any injurious consequences: he instantly replied, "If I had the power I would give them all emancipation to-morrow." I was pleased with his frank and explicit reply; but should have been better satisfied had he not said, "to-morrow," but "to-day;" because I know that when, in cases of extreme importance, persons have said, like a Roman soldier, "serious things to-morrow;" the events of "the day," on which it is said, may prevent, as in that instance, the possibility of attending to "serious things to-morrow." This has always been the plea of the British Legislature respecting slavery: "It ought," it has said, "certainly to be abolished; but not 'to-day,'—'to-morrow!'" This is the spirit of the Government at the present moment. Let us, say they, first prepare the slaves by *ameliorating* measures for liberty; and then "to-morrow" we will grant them *emancipation*. Alas! I fear that the "to-morrow" opportunity, for setting the oppressed negroes free by law may never arrive; therefore, I earnestly and respectfully say, to all persons concerned, "Do it to-day."

(M.) Page 54.

I am happy to have it in my power to introduce the sentiments of the Rev. Joseph Fletcher, D.D. of Stepney, on the sin of Slavery, as delivered in a Sermon preached at Spa-fields Chapel, on the 3rd instant, on behalf of the Moravian Missions, which makes the remarks the more valuable, as the Rev. P. Latrobe, and his father, the Rev. C. J. Latrobe, both contend, in their recent correspondence with me, that the slaves belonging to the *Unitas Fratrum*, are their "legal property." Dr. F.'s text, was Rom. i. 14—" *I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians: both to the wise and the unwise.*" Applying his observations to slavery, he said this debt of obligation to serve persons of all descriptions, by preaching the gospel to them, was enforced by the command of Jesus Christ; and after alluding to the late Orders in Council, and the Instructions to the Governors of the Colonies by Lord Goderich, which he pronounced to be truly christian in their sentiments and spirit, and noble and elevated in their style and composition! he said (as I am told by an intelligent gentleman, who took down the words at the time) "This debt and obligation are binding upon those who hold persons in bondage, and whom *they proudly and unjustly call their property*, and as unjustly have made them slaves! It is the duty of their masters to impart unto them that knowledge of the gospel, which is able, through faith in Christ Jesus, to make them the Lord's free-men."

(N.) Page 56.

The following letter, signed by six of the Baptist Missionaries, against whom no proceedings had been taken, in vindication of themselves, their brethren, and the Society, against the malicious slanders propagated by the slave-holders, is copied from the "Jamaica Watchman," of the 25th of February, 1832.

" *To the Editor of the Watchman.*

" Sir—Considering the present state of public opinion, as induced by heavy charges alleged against the 'Sectarians,'

relative to the late rebellion ; it is probable that those by whom our characters are appreciated, and doctrines understood, might inquire why we have not earlier appeared in defence of the one, and explanation of the other? Our delay has not arisen from fear of investigation, or reluctance to defend the doctrines we inculcate : but long accustomed to revilement and false accusation ; considering the improbable and contradictory nature of the charges alleged, together with the total ignorance manifested by those who made them, both of our sentiments and discipline ; and feeling happy in a conscious rectitude of our motives and conduct, we were disposed to pass over in silence such unfounded allegations. But having exercised our patience, until the lawless rage of those, who are alike inimical to the laws of God and man, has demolished ten or eleven of our chapels, and thus destroyed full £16,000. worth of property belonging to the Baptist Mission in this island, we deem it high time, on the part of ourselves, and our brethren with whom we are not able at present to confer, to offer the following remarks, with a view to vindicate our characters, and repress such disgraceful depredations.

“ Our missionaries here, and the society at home, have been reviled and calumniated by every species of abuse that ingenuity could invent, or malice promulgate. Every epithet has been employed that could blacken the character, or misrepresent the motives, both of the society and their agents. We have been charged with preaching doctrines of a seditious and dangerous character, and of propagating, among the slave population, principles and sentiments tending to disobedience and insubordination. *This charge we FLATLY DENY, and call on our accusers for PROOF.* The doctrines we maintain, we are prepared, at any proper time, modestly but fearlessly to defend ! But, not thinking it necessary to trouble the public at present with an extended statement of our belief, nor considering a newspaper the most proper medium for a confession of faith, it may suffice to remark, that our religious doctrines, however misrepresented by our enemies, differ not from those contained in the authorized compositions of the Established Church ; nor, as they regard the present question, from those of any other body of true christians.

“Our doctrines are not only charged with destroying the relative obligations between master and servant, but of leading to robbery, sedition, incendiarism, and murder! How they can tend to such evils, more than the doctrines of the Established Church, we are at a loss to ascertain, since the fundamental doctrines of our belief are to be found in her articles.

“We are said to be sent hither as spies and incendiaries; encouraged by our society to propagate sedition; and, finally, to accomplish the destruction of the colony. Charges so ridiculous, must carry with them, to every unprejudiced mind, their own refutation. With reference to our society, the following quotations from the Instructions given to every missionary, on leaving England, will clearly evince that their object is not to spread anarchy and confusion, but, without any interference whatever with the political constitution of the colony, to seek the happiness of the slaves, by presenting to them the blessings of christianity, in the life that now is, as well as that which is to come; and inculcating attention to all the social and relative duties of life.

“ ‘We enjoin it upon you ever to remember that the office you have voluntarily undertaken, is wholly of a *spiritual* nature. Leaving to others the acquisition of property, and the management of temporal affairs, you go forth in the service of *Jesus Christ*, and to seek the salvation of immortal souls.

“ ‘It is matter of the first importance, that you carefully abstain from all interference whatever in political affairs, or with the civil business of the town and neighbourhood in which you reside. To the island of Jamaica this direction applies with peculiar force. Be careful, therefore, that your conduct, without any mixture of a worldly or temporizing spirit, be such as shall give no just occasion of offence, and that none may be able to bring any accusation against you, save in the matter of the Lord your God. As you are going amongst a people, many of whom are in a state of slavery, it will be incumbent upon you to use great caution, both as to your language and conduct, that there may not be the least ground for the charge of interfering with their civil relations. On all persons in the condition of slaves, you will diligently and plainly enforce the following apostolic precepts: Eph. vi. 5—8, *Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters*

according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart: With good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not unto men. Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. Col. iii. 22—25, Servants obey in all things your masters according to the flesh, not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God. And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance; for ye serve the Lord Christ. But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done, and there is no respect of persons.'

"We might leave these instructions to speak for themselves, simply requesting the public to observe that no missionary *could* deviate from them, without incurring the discountenance of his associates here, and separation from the society in England. But lest it should be alleged, that although we have received such instructions, yet, the many cases in which Baptists are said to have been implicated in the late rebellion, prove that we have not acted accordingly, we beg to suggest some considerations, which we think should induce the public to pause, before they draw this inference.

"The number of slaves connected with our chapels, in the districts chiefly disturbed, is very large, much larger, we believe, than the number connected with any other places of worship in that neighbourhood; so that if only an equal proportion of Baptists were implicated, their number would necessarily exceed that of other denominations.

"But as to the real number of persons calling themselves Baptists, actually engaged in the rebellion, we have as yet no authentic information. Their number, in fact, have not been ascertained; nor are our brethren at present in a situation to discover it. The statements made in the Cornwall Chronicle, Courier, &c., on this point, have been so mixed up with others already proved false, that they are plainly unworthy of credence. And even of those actually implicated, and who call themselves Baptists, many will, we are satisfied, be found, on impartial inquiry, to have no connection whatever with our

churches, nor even to attend at our chapels; for it is a fact, well known to most religious persons, that besides a great number of casual hearers, such as are found in all denominations of christians, there exist a multitude of people in different parts of the island, who designate themselves Baptists, but yet have no connection whatever with the Baptist Mission.

"But suppose that some of our members have really been involved, which we fear is the case, it deserves inquiry, what proportion of this number *voluntarily* engaged in it; because, it is notorious, that many negroes were driven to join the rebels by their threats, or induced by their relative connections with them.

"Besides, let it be remarked, that the more intelligent and crafty of the rebel * chiefs, would be strongly induced to use the name of any Missionary, as an argument to prevail on others to join them. This remark applies especially to Mr. Burchell's name, because, being off the island at the time, he could not frustrate such an attempt; so that the guilt of any Missionary cannot be inferred from that circumstance, since his name might have been thus used, without his consent or knowledge.

* I could have wished our Missionaries had not called men "rebels," who were only struggling for the "right which *every man*," as Blackstone says, (see page 61) "*has to his own limbs!*"

"Oh! most degrading of all ills that wait
On man, a mourner in his best estate!
All other sorrows virtue may endure,
And find submission more than half a cure;
Grief is itself a medicine, and bestowed
To improve the fortitude that bears the load,
To teach the wanderer, as his woes increase,
The path of wisdom, all whose paths are peace;
But slavery!—Virtue dreads it as her grave;
Patience itself is meanness in a slave;
Or if the will and sovereignty of God
Bid suffer it awhile, and kiss the rod,
Wait for the dawning of a brighter day,
And snap the chain the moment when you may.
Nature imprints upon whate'er we see
That has a heart and life in it,—*BE FREE.*"—*Comper.*

